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28 September 1960

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THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDONESIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY
- INDONESIA -

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U.S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE
205 EAST 42nd STREET, SUITE 300
NEW YORK 17, N. Y.

JPRS: 5544
CSO: 4522-N

THE FORTIETH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INDONESIAN
COMMUNIST PARTY

TABLE OF CONTENTS

<u>ARTICLE</u>	<u>PAGE</u>
1. The Indonesian Communist Party and Current International Problems	1
2. The Indonesian Communist Party and Peace	9
3. An Active Role for the Masses to be Developed Fully Under the Leadership of Marxism-Leninism ..	15

INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND CURRENT
INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS

[The following is a full translation of an article by Sudis-
in Harian Rakjat , Djakarta, 30 May 1960.]

The Indonesian Communist Party has been fighting and struggling for forty years. The occasion of its fortieth anniversary is marked by mounting anger on the part of all peoples throughout the world toward the imperialist group headed by the United States, which does not intend to relinquish its belligerent policy. What Lenin once said is precisely correct, namely that the imperialist system has within it the sources of warfare and conflagration. Peace or the conditions of peace are viewed by the imperialists as merely an intermission between wars. The intermission is maximally utilized to increase their armaments and to further their ambition of eventual control of the whole world. Among certain imperialist elements in the United States, for example, there are forces actively at work preparing for total war, while other elements in the United States are energetically preparing for limited warfare, in effect local wars, by undertaking interventionist activities in revolutions in other countries and by exerting pressures against independence movements and open aggressive warfare against socialist countries. The aggressive intentions of the United States have been exposed by its

careless intrusion of the borders of the Soviet Union by the U-2 intelligence plane, which resulted in the sacrificing of pilot Powers. In addition to such activities the United States continues to play the role of military police in suppressing revolutionary movements and national-liberation movements of peoples of different countries and has been active in preserving the most reactionary decaying powers throughout the entire capitalist world. The consequence of such United States cruelty has been to critically sharpen conflicts between the imperialists and the peoples of suppressed countries, who have been rising up to launch counter-warfare. Open opposition and fighting by the people have exploded recently in Latin America, Africa, South Korea, and Turkey, because the people of those lands can no longer endure living under the criminal power of the imperialists and their accomplices. The overthrow of Syngman Rhee and Adnan Menderes is proof that the overwhelming power of the people can no longer be restrained.

On the occasion of the fortieth celebration of the party, we find ourselves faced with two fiendish tactics by the imperialist and reactionary forces. The two tactics are: 1) suppression by force, and 2) dishonesty and lying, as exemplified by putting

in Syngman Rhee's place in South Korea a faithful follower, Suh Chung to form a "care-taker" cabinet. The role of the cabinet in acting out this comedy is to show "appreciation for the opinion of the general public"; "receive constructive criticism"; "under-

take revolutionary changes", and other deceptive democratic promises. But the people of South Korea can no longer be deceived, for they are now awake and are fully convinced that they must extricate the roots of slavery and suppression, starvation and poverty; and those roots are traceable to the occupation forces of the United States and its accomplices. Patriotic and just struggles are not only exploding in South Korea but also in Japan. For more than one year the people of Japan have incessantly fought against the United States, and now they are taking unprecedented action in order to disavow the military pact between Japan and the United States. The United States insanely supports the return of Japanese militarism, whose cruelty we have known very well. The Indonesian communists have still fresh in mind the barbarian practices of Japanese militarism, under the guise of an envisioned Greater Far East, during its occupation of Indonesia. The Indonesian people will never tolerate Japanese torture, will not remain passive; will not endure face-slapping, exposure to heat and sun for hours; forced hangings; punishment through holding burning coals; dunkings in water while lashed to bamboo poles, etc, etc. No, no, and again no, the Indonesian communists will not remain passive; rather they will offer total resistance to the reestablishment of Japanese militarism, especially in the present situation wherein the remaining days of imperialism are numbered. The United States dares to imagine that a remilitarized and rearmed Japan can be used as a powerful force in a war against the Soviet Union and Communist China.

But was it not the United States, England, and France before World War Two that hoped to use Japan in the launching of a war against the Soviet Union? Who can guarantee that Japan will not undertake another aggressive war in Southeast Asia, and who can guarantee that a new world war will not explode between the imperialist powers themselves?

After forty years of struggle the Indonesian Communist Party has reached an understanding in precise conformity with the objective facts, namely that residing within imperialism are the very roots and sources of destruction and warfare, and by making use of these facts and incontrovertible laws the Indonesian Communist Party can know how to resist, how to bring about the eventual disappearance of imperialist war-making. It is on the basis of this knowledge that the Indonesian Communist Party can oppose warfare and imperialist aggression and can struggle for world peace. The Indonesian Communist Party irretrievably stands for peace and is opposed to war, but should the hardheaded imperialists go on lighting the fires of another war, we are not afraid. World peace must be won through struggle and in that struggle the communists will not accept defeat.

Comrade D. N. Aidit in his General Report to the Party's Sixth National Congress said that the most important development in our time was that events were moving away from capitalism and towards socialism. He further stated that the times were marked by the following:

1. Extraordinary successes from the socialist camp, in particular the Soviet Union, in the fields of economy, culture, science, and diplomacy. At the present time the Soviet Union is entering a period in which it is taking the offensive and is making extensive advances in bringing betterment to the lives of the communist peoples. Economic, scientific, and technical progress have gone ahead by leaps and bounds in the Soviet Union. In Communist China a General Policy has been enunciated that has in view the intensifying of work and efforts to develop socialism and bring it to its fullest flowering; to do this by using many different methods; to do this swiftly, expertly, and with great urgency. In keeping with this General Policy for the development of socialism, practically overnight progress has been achieved by leaps and bounds, in the field of industrial and agricultural production. The people's communes in villages and towns; modernization activities; technical revolutions; the forging together of training and the productive efforts, and general progress, all of these things are taking place at once in the fields of trade, scientific research and knowledge, culture, public health, social structure, and moral training. The People's Republic of China and other socialist countries actively support the proposals for peace made by the Soviet Union under the leadership of N. S. Khrushchev to have "KTT", general worldwide

disarmament, prohibition of manufacture of nuclear weapons, etc.

2. In order to solder together the world-peace movement with the anti-colonial one, then it is necessary for Indonesia's foreign policy to recognize two facts: first is to bring to complete victory the Indonesian revolution, so that its form is national and democratic; second is to preserve and maintain peace.
3. The firming together, on an international scale, of a proletariat sworn to oppose the Tito-inspired modern revisionism. The revisionists hold the theory that the imperialists will change their system and will renounce their war-making policy, and that they will do these things according to their own desire to do so; so in the light of these expectations it is really no longer necessary to wage an anti-imperialist struggle. Whoever is unalterably opposed to imperialism and is determined to pursue his revolutionary aims "will find himself opposing peace or a life very close to paralleling peaceful conditions" and therefore "will become a stubborn dogmatist". By opposing "dogmatism" the revisionists are only inventing a reason for opposing revolution or for a way to negate revolution altogether, and thereby they commit an error and falsify Marxism-Leninism. But even among the revisionist statements are those in which fear is expressed regarding the fearsome policy of the im-

perialists of nuclear war. The revisionists started out by being afraid of war and now they are afraid of revolution, and they reiterate their own reluctance of aspiring to revolution for their country by even opposing other peoples who are revolting against their masters. In order to satisfy the wants of the imperialists, the revisionists oppose the growth and development of national independence and freedom movements and proletarian revolutionary movements in various countries. Modern revisionists such as Tito have succumbed to the wiles of the imperialists, who are trying to reshape and remould capitalist countries out of the socialist countries.

4. The strength of imperialism is limited, and it will diminish still further if it is opposed, because it has already started on the downgrade and it does not have many days left. In the struggle against imperialism in the world people everywhere should fortify their resources and cooperate fully in supporting one another. Only through forging together the strength of the peoples of the socialist countries can the national struggle of peoples from dependent and semi-dependent countries see fruit; and similarly regarding the fight for world peace. And only then will the imperialists and their accomplices be defeated and a just world peace be achieved. Comrade Mao-Tse-Tung said, "If the imperialists stubbornly

conflagrate a third world war, there is no doubt that several hundreds of millions will turn to socialism; and at such a time the imperialists will find that they no longer enjoy a wide sphere of influence or power, and the possibility will be even greater that the whole imperialist establishment will crumble to pieces." ("How To Settle Contradictions Unequivocally", page 54.)

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THE INDONESIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND PEACE

[The following is a full translation of an article by Ngadiman Hardjosubroto in Harian Rakjat, Djakarta, 8 June 1960.]

On 23 May 1960 the Indonesian Communist Party celebrated its 40th anniversary. The Indonesian Communist Party has achieved the ripe age of forty years, and also its period of maturity.

Many have been the experiences that the party has had during these years, in the fields of politics and organization. Despite the fact that among them were experiences that sadly and discouragingly resulted from political and organizational errors, the experiences were still very valuable for the Indonesian Communist Party, for they form together a learning experience that stands us in good stead in our work not only now but in the future also.

Despite all the errors and mistakes once committed by it, the fact still remains that the party from its inception until now has been a dedicated and productive unit in struggling for peace for the Indonesian people and for world peace in general. It has both gone through a time in which it was legal for it to have a political life and a time in which it was compelled to stay underground, during the period of Dutch imperialist colonialism and the Japanese occupation. Still the Indonesian Communist Party was always at the forefront spearheading every mass action of the people

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class struggle which is revolutionary and does not acknowledge peace.

According to their view, a struggle that is based on the theory of class conflict will always lead to the spilling of blood and pitched and extensive battles that can not bring about peace, but in its place continual chaos in the social life of peoples.

This view is clearly rooted in the ideas of liberal capitalism and is completely incognizant of the conditions of society and the laws of its development.

It is true that the party and the communists base the waging of the struggle on the theory of class conflict which is revolutionary and does not acknowledge peace. What is meant by this is the recognition of the situation as it really is. For people even with little understanding of modern society must surely recognize that the struggle of classes is in actuality a fact of history, an historical certainty, a result of a stage of development of society that now finds society broken up into classes. These classes are differentiated on the basis of what each of its needs and requirements for life are; it is a distinction that results in the posing of contradictions that cannot be peacefully settled (because of the inherent antagonism of the classes.)

Given a class in society that differs from others as to its needs and expectancies in life and there you have the possibility of revolutionary class struggle that finds no respite, and from this situation there develops an unsettled condition in the whole

structure of the society, and then of countries, and national entities in the world. The theory of class struggle is no more or less than the documented evidence of history, or an historical fact in the life of modern society.

The historical fact had for a long time been acknowledged and accepted by historians and even by bourgeois economists and capitalist flunkies, or so it had before the great genius and spokesman of social science Karl Marx conceived the Marxist theory. So as you can see the ones who were first to acknowledge and accept the theory of class struggle as an historical certitude were not communists but the bourgeoisie themselves.

What if the communists and the bourgeoisie together accept and acknowledge this as a fact of history, still what really matters is that there is a great difference between the two as to how to overcome this contradiction, indeed there is a yawning gap between the communists and the capitalists on this matter. We communists utilize the theory of class struggle as the basis for the fight to eliminate all class distinctions in society and with them the principal causes of continued struggle and no peace in the world. While the purpose of the bourgeoisie and imperialists has been to go about fomenting and fanning class struggle so that they can bend it to their own purposes and entrench themselves more firmly in their position. This means that the bourgeoisie and the imperialists try to cut

short and dam up revolutionary thought and impulses and do not thereby achieve respite from the class struggle, which means that they have even precluded the conditions of peace.

From the brief explanation above it is clear that the struggle for a just peace is not achieved by simply writing off class struggle which is revolutionary and without let-up. This means that the struggle for peace is closely associated with the anti-imperialist struggle. That fact was clearly enunciated also by President Sukarno just recently at the Conference for Peace, when he said that, "The struggle for peace must not be separated into two parts, the anti-imperialist struggle and the anti-colonialist struggle."

Again as to the view that class struggle which is revolutionary and without respite always leads to the spilling of blood and pitched battles to the death, it is completely without substance. If the form of the struggle does not in any way depend on the party of the communists, then the process of the revolutionary struggle must be able to mould into shape events that are peaceful and safe. But unfortunately the decision is not up to the party or the communists at all. The enemies of the common people and the enemies of the communists and other progressive groups are compelled to defend their position even to death by using any and every means that are available to them. History teaches us that there has never been a group that has gained power and control by voluntarily abdicating its position of power on the throne.

As living proof of the fact that with the party and the communists of Indonesia peace is a matter of principle and that we communists prefer to use peaceful means in the struggle to attain our goals, that is quite clear from what was contained in the Program of the Indonesian Communist Party stemming from the recently held Sixth National Congress. That program is no more or less than a description of the working of the theory of class struggle in the current phase of development of the Indonesian revolution.

To reject the theory of class struggle while at the same time affirming that you will promote the struggle for peace for the Indonesian people and nation is to be like the man who extends one of his hands in greeting but keeps his other hand hidden, with a dagger in its grasp.

AN ACTIVE ROLE FOR THE MASSES TO BE DEVELOPED FULLY
UNDER THE LEADERSHIP OF MARXISM-LENINISM

[The following is a full translation of an article by
Tjoo Tik-Tjoen in Harian Rakyat, Djakarta, 7 June 1960.]

The Indonesian Communist Party was forty years old on
23 May 1960. On the occasion of its fortieth birthday the
party shows itself to be much more mature not only in terms of
age but also in terms of experience in its struggle, and more
vital in youthfulness and strength in its life.

It is really not possible to describe how pleased and
excited the laborers and Indonesian working people are in
welcoming this great event. For the Indonesian Communist Party
is highly thought of by them as their leader and advocate,
possessing high enterprise and great responsibility and being
truly uniquely calm in its motto for living and activist in
its work. The older the party gets the stronger it becomes,
and the evidence points clearly to success in the days ahead.

Of course this event is not exactly welcomed with open
arms by the imperialists and the reactionaries in our land. That
is because the Indonesian Communist Party since its inception
has been determinedly opposed by them, and has been the group
against whom they have struck out and have suppressed with all

their strength; but rather than having become weaker or damaged as a result, the party has all the more increased in size and authority.

This historical fact actually serves to prove the effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism. It has been a confident display of victory for Marxism-Leninism in Indonesia.

Marxism-Leninism declares that the proletariat class and its party though for a time small and weak as a decision-making force in the modern world will definitely grow to become great and strong. There is not a single force that can crush out its life or stay its progress.

Why is that? Just exactly where does the source of that undaunted strength lie?

The imperialists and the reactionaries in our land make it difficult for themselves by "trying and trying" to find the answer far away in "Moscow" or "Peking". Tell them that they are really in the dark! For in reality the answer is right before their eyes, that is the history of the struggle of the Indonesian Communist Party.

The history of that struggle over forty years ought to be sufficiently clear in demonstrating that the undiminished strength of the party was preserved and maintained, because "there is vibrant life in them; all the glory and strength of the masses is

in them, and everything that is implied by the term 'people' -- that is struggling without expecting private personal gain; thinking and planning in the face of difficulties; being affectionate and open-hearted; moving forward stoutly and without the slightest fear; being mindful that what they are building is new; possessed of unlimited energy and courage -- in short the uncontained and unrestrained force and strength of the workers and the farmers is in them." (Lenin: "Those who in wave after wave are trampled underfoot by old forces and conditions and who are always struggling for new conditions.")

It is a well-known fact that the imperialists and all reactionary groups in our land are unwilling to accept this fact; nor will they stand aside passively to watch the Indonesian Communist Party grow stronger day by day. They will scheme and spin evil plans all the more and will mobilize all their strength, with all the energy they can muster, in order to wage even more ferocious attacks against the Indonesian Communist Party. But the fact remains that if they could not destroy the party at a time when it was small and weak, what more can they do against it now in its present state of authority and power? Not only is it not possible to destroy or even defeat the party

at the present time, but rather the party can overcome all of its enemies.

Does this mean that we communists are free to do "as we please" with total disregard for the machinations of the enemies, or that we may act "injudiciously" without making any calculations or deliberations whatsoever? Not at all. It is just those kinds of attitudes that our enemies are hoping we will adopt. But to behave in such ways is not only not Marxism, it is anti-Marxist.

In his article, "Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disease", Lenin predicted, "The communists should realize that no matter what happens or when it happens, they still have their strength, and because of that they can (and should) weld their wills and aspirations together in the service of the great revolution, with very sober and unalleviable calculations regarding the scheming machinations of the bourgeoisie". How "penetrating" Lenin's message for us is can now be felt and realized, since we have had many experiences of our own.

We Indonesian communists, armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism and fortified by our rich experience of forty years are now all the more clever at recognizing and taking hold of situations and of adopting a position and planning a

course of action.

We will not be "forgetful" in the midst of our heightened position and our victories, because our experiences during these years have taught us the true meaning of achieving victory within victory in the struggle; and that is to say that each gain or victory is only a kind of sign-post or kilometer marking along the interminable road of history. For that reason, we do not have the slightest justification, upon reaching a certain goal, of feeling satisfied, or stopping to look at one of our victories; rather we should actively and with deliberation put each victory to use in strengthening and in winning the next victory and all future victories. If we fail to do these things, then it will mean defeat for us, and not only defeat but also retreat, and ultimate destruction. Miscalculation and forgetfulness are what made possible Hatta's white terror in the "Madian provocation", which resulted in great injury having been done to the party. On the other hand, by consolidating our "New Road" victory over the "August Raids" we were able to play a forceful role in the general elections in defeating the rebellious counter-revolutionary PRRI-Permesta and in isolating the reactionary Marjumi-Socialist Party coalition, so that they were dropped from the cabinet and parliament.

We do not have blind faith in some law or historical necessity, but rather we actively and calculatingly make use of the laws of historical development in order to accelerate the process of historical continuity. Our experience over these many years serves to indicate that historical necessity and historical fact are not the same, but rather the two are different. For historical necessity to be transformed into historical fact requires first, that it pass through a certain process in which certain conditions are satisfied, -- and mixed in with this are the subjective activities that the masses and working people are engaged in and feel -- "The Round Table Conference Agreement must not go into effect"; "the Sukiman August Raids must not take place", etc are historical necessities; but the historical necessity first has to be molded into historical fact and put through a process of deliberate and active struggle by the masses of Indonesian people under the leadership of the Indonesian Communist Party.

Our forty years of experience, and in particular our experience in recent years reinforces our conviction as to the accuracy of the Marxian-Leninism philosophy, namely that there has never been a group that has gained power and authority by voluntarily abdicating its position of power on the throne.

We communists in Indonesia, just as the communists in other countries, are always ready to make the best possible use

of an opportunity or an advantage that can be molded into peaceful instruments in the struggle to achieve our ideals. It has been, however, the imperialist and reactionary elements in our land that, after witnessing the greatest number of votes that the party piled up in the last three elections, have become agitated and afraid, and they are the ones that have played with fire and have resorted to armed force in insurrectionist movements and counter-revolutionary acts such as PRRI-Permesta, Darul Islam and the United Islamic Army in order to thwart progress and advance. In addition to those things they have even resorted to direct and openly strong-arm efforts, such as attempting changes in the general election laws, outlawing the communist party, etc in order to stay the forward progress of the Indonesian Communist Party.

It is for these reasons that we communists have to confront a situation in which the class struggle with each day is becoming more and more acute, and consequently we have to be on the alert and ever ready to anticipate the moves of the imperialists and all reactionary elements in our land. Tomorrow's world is ours, but it is not ours as a free gift or present, but rather we communists and the working people have to lay claim on it and win it. The imperialists and all reactionary groups are going to come to naught, but they are not going to expire of their own volition; and we and the

working people have to strike the death blow. And for all of this, whatever our experience or the experience of the proletariat class of the world may be or may have been all such experience demonstrates to us that above everything we have to develop the active role of the masses to the fullest under the leadership of Marxism-Leninism!

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